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either by rigid exclusionist legislation or by an ironclad diplomatic agreement with Japan. This appears to be the only way of settling a chronic problem which, for the last twenty years has kept the Coast in ferment, has poisoned Japanese-American relations and contains within itself the seeds of war. A settlement, at once prompt and definite, is imperative. Faltering and half-measures are worse than useless.

The Coast has made a good case. It has a right to be freed from the menace of Asiatic pacific penetration, from whatever quarter. Since Japan is today the only remaining source of Asiatic immigration, measures must be taken whose effect will be to insure that the Japanese element in the United States shall become, like the Chinese and Hindu elements, a stationary or dwindling one.

## The Development of the Anti-Japanese Movement

By ROBERT NEWTON LYNCH

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THE question of Oriental immigration to the United States must now be squarely faced and in the interest of world peace an earnest attempt made to secure solution. California furnishes the facts as to the present conditions of this problem and California owes to the balance of the country an intelligent grasp of the problems involved and a sympathetic and humane consideration which will help guide the country to sane and peaceful solution.

There are stubborn facts to be faced, some of these are unalterable and others do not admit of immediate change, but must await education and be submitted to time and experience. One of these is that the Japanese do not assimilate. Another is that the Japanese are not eligible to citizenship. Individually they have a high order of efficiency, are exceedingly industrious, very ambitious and quite capable of rising immediately above the status of common labor. It is evident that the permanent presence of a large body of such people in the United States, highly concentrated in certain favorable localities, backed by a powerful and proudly sensitive government, raises a practically unsolvable problem

and threatens the peace of two otherwise friendly powers. This is the California situation in a nut-shell. The issue is clouded with many circumstances and has aroused much unnecessary antagonism and hostility. Some of the obvious facts have been hotly debated, fears have been exaggerated, and political advantage on both sides of the water has been taken of the situation. Individual derelictions and general indictments of national character have colored the discussion and influenced action. One would covet more intelligent analysis and recognition of inevitable facts and situations.

The first instalment of Japanese immigration was rather welcomed in California, notwithstanding the fact that California had passed through a definite experience with the Chinese leading to the passage of exclusion laws. The Chinese residents in the state, after rigid exclusion was adopted, have completely turned the sentiment of the people from that of dislike and hostility to that of respect and even admiration for their character and qualities. After they ceased to be an economic menace they rapidly won a place for themselves and ceased en-

tirely to be a problem. This, in spite of the fact that the number of Chinese in California in the seventies was much larger than the present Japanese population. However, a small but definite group, composed largely of labor leaders formed in an Asiatic Exclusion League, have always been on the alert against an inundation of Oriental labor. Furthermore, the Chinese agitation which burned so fiercely at one period resulted in a political tradition which has always been unalterably opposed to any influx of Asiatics.

The history of Japanese immigration was marked first, by a favorable attitude due to the prestige of their country, and the possession of the very qualities which later were so strongly urged against them. The sympathy of the United States was largely with Japan in its war with Russia, and the few Japanese in California at that period received the benefit of that sympathy. Any hostility was strictly confined to the aforesaid Asiatic Exclusion group. The first outbreak of popular antagonism was in the school controversy in San Francisco, due to the segregation of Orientals in separate schools. The Chinese welcomed such separation, but the Japanese resented what seemed to them a discrimination. The matter was of course complicated by the presence of older and even adult Japanese seeking to attend school with smaller white children. This incident was the first appreciation of the radical differences of viewpoint of Japanese and Chinese, which has gradually gained for the Chinese a kindly feeling and for the Japanese the hostility of California. The Chinese are tractable, patient, self-effacing, philosophical, self-respecting, and quite content to remain as servants and laborers. Their intelligent leaders are not insulted at the results of inevitable race differences, and no assimilation is required

or desired. They are offended at brutal and unjust treatment, and have a long and serious indictment over the treatment to which they have been subjected by federal and city officials. On the other hand, the Japanese are sensitive to every discrimination, are ambitious to rise immediately above the status of laborers, are aggressive for recognition, and have gained an unenviable reputation for their disregard of contractual obligations.

After the school controversy, sufficient attention was called to the dangers of a considerable development of a permanent population, that the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" was entered into, which was intended to prevent further Japanese laborers from coming to the United States. This agreement was a voluntary determination of Japan, on its honor, not to issue passports except to students, merchants, travellers and others not of the laboring class. This agreement, however, permitted wives, families and dependents of those already in the United States to come lawfully into the country. Naturally with no system of identification of Japanese in the United States the chances of individuals being smuggled over the border or otherwise coming into the country without the official knowledge of the Japanese Government was great. But even if the number thus coming in would be comparatively insignificant the "Gentlemen's Agreement" strictly adhered to could not prevent a very large addition to the Japanese population and the number has doubled in the last decade.

The second stage of Japanese hostility arose over the land question. Japanese labor was very efficient in the small fruits, and at certain seasons was the only available source of labor. The Japanese were highly organized and pushed every advantage to the

full in acquiring leases and ownership of lands, and it became evident that in one or two highly concentrated communities they had driven out the whites. This situation led to the passage of the Anti-Alien Land Law of 1913 which prohibited ownership of land by those ineligible to citizenship and limited the leasing privilege to three years. At the time this was supposed to be a solution of the problem, although the act itself was greatly resented by Japan and led to disturbances of the traditional friendly relation between the two countries.

There was naturally some reaction after the passage of the 1913 law, and which was supported by laboring and farming groups, but which did not reflect any popular attitude toward the Japanese, further than the growing attitude of dislike toward the Japanese methods and aggressiveness and the corresponding growth of kindly feeling toward the Chinese. The holding of the Panama Pacific Exposition in 1915, where Japan made such splendid exhibits and which brought many of her leading business men and statesmen to California, was a distinct move in the other direction which, followed by the entrance of Japan as one of the allies in the Great War, her staunch rejection of German sympathy, and her great service in policing the waters of the Pacific, even protecting the Pacific Coast, raised the Japanese in popular esteem and confidence on the Pacific Coast. Nevertheless the California problem only awaited its day of reckoning.

The whole matter came to a head in the early part of 1919 when Japan's military operations in Siberia, the repressive military policy she adopted in Korea and the exclusive commercial policy she followed in China, and her Shantung situation brought Japan into world-wide suspicion and criticism.

This had an immediate reaction in California and centered attention on the rapid development of Japanese in the state, despite the "Gentlemen's Agreement," and the fact that the Anti-Alien Land Law Bill of 1913 was ineffective as the Japanese had been rapidly importing picture brides and raising American-born families in whose individual names property could be vested freely or as members of corporations, legally entitled to acquire agricultural land. The approaching election and the rising tide of popular sentiment brought the whole question into political discussion. Impatient of legislative action which could not be taken until the session of 1921, an initiative measure was prepared, strengthening the Anti-Alien Land Law Bill of 1913, which provides for guardianship of the agricultural property of children born of parents ineligible to citizenship by the public administrator, or some other person chosen by the court, denying this guardianship right to the natural parent. It also provides for such guardianship over a minor owning stock in a corporation, whose charter entitles it to own land. The measure also abrogates the right of leasing which was granted under the Anti-Alien Land Law Bill of 1913.

The proponents of this initiative understood that the State Law could only deal with ownership of land, and had no power to deal with immigration. It was conceded that the only real solution would be the absolute restriction of immigration, but an irreconcilable group, impatient and critical of the fact that the State Department had temporized with the situation and believing that Japan is treacherous to agreements, looked to a solution through the passage of rigid exclusion laws by Congress and an amendment to the Constitution of the United States denying citizenship to American-born

children of aliens themselves ineligible to such privileges.

The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce has had a committee on Japanese-American Relations which has studied aspects of this question over a period of years and has maintained contact with a similar committee in Japan headed by Viscount Shibusawa.

These two committees have frankly discussed the whole question and without reserve have faced the facts and problems involved.

The Chamber of Commerce opposed the initiative measure recently passed on the ground that it was ineffective even for the purpose of prohibiting ownership of land and aroused unnecessary antagonism and prejudice on a subject which involved international relations of a critical and delicate character. Leading business men of San Francisco have studied the problems of Japan and have taken a sympathetic view of the grave difficulties which their responsible business men and statesmen have to face. The Japanese-American Relations Committee believes that there is a very great problem involved in the California situation and that it is a peril to the peace of both countries to have developed under present conditions a large and growing population, practically unassimilable and ineligible to citizenship. The proper solution of such a situation is an arrangement by friendly means through diplomatic exchanges, an agreement by treaty or otherwise which will effectively restrict further immigration. When such ar-

rangements have been made the way will be open to secure just and even generous treatment for Japanese now lawfully in this country, and inasmuch as they represent but two per cent of the present population of California the tendency will be to scatter over the country and even with the natural increase in their number through births they will become a negligible factor and cease to be a problem.

After all the California situation, however grave and perilous its immediate aspect may appear, is but an incident and symptom of a much larger situation. It is essential to the future peace of the world that the Asiatics and Occidentals shall come to a better understanding of the solidarity of world commerce and respect the other's institutions and problems and coöperate in the development of common and commercial moral standards. The United States has a peculiar and compelling obligation to the peoples of the Orient, one of helpfulness and sympathy. The Japanese, as the only organized and economic force in the Orient, have themselves a great obligation of leadership. They also have a great contribution to make to the new world civilization which hopeful people, deriving their confidence from a belief in an over-ruling and all-wise Providence, are eagerly anticipating. California with all its show of popular prejudice has yet the most practical experience with Asiatics. California must sympathetically interpret the fact and problems to the rest of the United States.